1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

(b) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	227	
Sako	"	"	287	915
Zarkwai	"	"	303	
Bakin Kogi	"	"	48	
Kibori	"	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	"	"	520	
Zaman Awon	"	"	243	
Zaman Dabo	"	"	785	2,687
Magamiya	"	"	480	
Taligram	"	"	226	
Giddan Wuka	"	"	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	1,431
Kurmin Gando	"	" "	231	
Jankassa	"	Kpaisa	1,150	1,557
Magada Kura	"	"	407	
Ungwar Gaya	"	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	"	"	467	
Giddan Karo	"	"	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	"	"	409	
Mabushi	"	"	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	"	—	94	962
Kigudu	"	—	132	
Kwaku	"	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan or sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game, killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 ● 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.

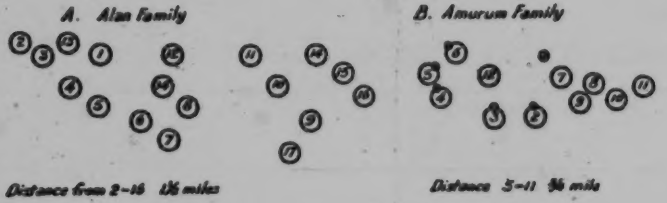
[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

near to the Zangon Katab market, were rich, and could influence the parents of women they wished to secure as brides.

Of the wives, 17 were primary and 39 secondary, i.e. 70 per cent of the wives were women who had run away from members of other sub-clans, clans, or tribes. (Of the total, 35 belonged to the Agbat clan, 4 to the Aswen clan, being wives of members of other clans resident at Kibori, and the remainder were obtained from neighbouring tribes.) Nineteen of the 20 households belonged to one kindred, which consisted of two extended families, 6 belonged to the family of Amurum, and 13 to that of Alan. The remaining household belonged to another subdivision (Awai) of the sub-clan (Aswen). The attached genealogical table shows the relationship between the 19 heads of compounds composing the kindred. The second table shows the plan of the village-area.

KIBORI VILLAGE AREA.—KINDRED—AMURUM ALAN—SUB-CLAN ASWEN-CLAN



A

(1) Occupied by the political head of the village, his mother, wives, two grown-up sons, their wives and children . (See genealogical table)	Householder Yakuba (Political Chief)
(2) Occupied by the elder brother of the village head (who had formerly been village head but resigned owing to old age), wives, son, and son's wives	Kara.
(3) Occupied by a distant paternal cousin of (1), his wives' children, and one brother	Agwabin.
(4) Occupied by sister of (1), her husband and children .	Bamai.
(5) Occupied by son's son of (1), his wife and children . .	Akut.
(6) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (1), his wife and children.	
(7) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (3)	Mugu.
(8) Occupied by a man of the Kpaisa sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives, children, son, and son's wives	Akut.
(9) Occupied by distant cousin's wife, children, cousin, and cousin's wives and children	Gado.
(10) Occupied by a man of Nje sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives and cousin	Jatau.
(11) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Buhu.

[text continues on p. 15]

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

582 one unit of one local group will neither marry the daughters nor steal the wives of a particular unit of another local group, on the ground of some supposed relationship. This brings us to the next point, which is that each of the units of the local group is exogamous, and that a number of these units may constitute a single exogamous section of the local group. As 582 a general rule the exogamous group of one town has a uniform 621 policy as regards intermarriage with another exogamous group in another town, i.e. they either steal the wives or marry the daughters of that other group. But the rule is not invariable, for occasionally one unit of the exogamous group in one town will steal the wives of a unit of the exogamous group in another town, while another unit of the same exogamous group will marry the daughters of the unit in the exogamous group in the other town. To take a few examples, the town of Fadan [162] Kagoro consists of eight local groups or wards, viz.: (i) Agwam (population 220), (ii) Lawat (pop. 182), (iii) Kadau (pop. 200); (iv) Mingyuo (pop. 253), (v) Mungwap (pop. 91), (vi) Akumat (pop. 42), (vii) Pagwar (pop. 25), (viii) Kachan (pop. 120). Each [611] ward is exogamous, and descent is patrilineal. If a stranger settles within a ward he and his children are not subject to the rule of exogamy. If a member leaves the ward and settles in the bush he remains subject to the exogamous rule. Wards (i), (ii), and (iii) constitute a single exogamous group on the ground of a common origin. They would make common cause if necessary against the other wards, and they are the possessors of the civil chieftainship. Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) do not constitute a single exogamous group; each ward may marry into any other ward with the exception that wards (v) and (vi) do not intermarry on the ground of having had a common forefather, nor do (vii) and (viii). Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) would make common cause against wards (i), (ii), and (iii). With them lies the religious chieftainship. The important members of wards (i), (ii), and (iii) may wear gowns, but the use of a gown is taboo in wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii), and no one wearing a gown is allowed to attend the religious rites. It will be seen, therefore, that there is in Fadan Kagoro something in the nature of a dual organization, i.e. two inter-marrying groups, one royal the other priestly, with potential hostility between the two.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

582 621 [162] The town of Kukum contains the following wards (*a*) (i) Kutuk (pop. 224), (ii) Kasaya (pop. 236), (iii) Zupong (pop. 132), (iv) Kubwai (pop. 80), (v) Kundwak (pop. 250), (vi) Gwayit (pop. 90); (*b*) (vii) Sukulak (pop. 250); (*c*) (viii) Pagwat (pop. 100). Wards (i) to (vi) constitutes a single exogamous unit, (vii) and (viii) each constitutes a single exogamous unit. A member of Kutuk, therefore, may not marry a member of Kasaya, but he may marry a member of Sukulak. No one in Kukum may steal the wife of any other in Kukum. The members of the first six wards may marry the daughters of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and may steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. Vice versa the members of Sukulak and Pagwat steal the wives of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there was stated to be one exception, viz. that Pagwat do not either marry the daughters nor steal the wives of the Kachan ward of Fadan Kagoro.

[162] The town of Kpak consists of the following wards:— (*a*) (i) Chuot (pop. 210), (ii) Michen (pop. 168), (iii) Kuchok (pop. 205), (iv) Badamai (pop. 186); (*b*) (v) Atsuen (pop. 67); (*c*) (vi) Pien (pop. 177). Wards (i) to (iv) constitute a single exogamous group; ward (v) is also a single exogamous unit, and so is ward (vi). Wards (i) to (iv) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there is an exception in that the Kuchok ward of Kpak does not steal the wives (or marry the daughters) of the Agwam ward of Fadan Kagoro. They consider themselves related and drink beer together. Vice versa wards (v) and (vi) of Kpak marry the daughters of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there were two exceptions to this rule. The Pien ward of Kpak does not steal from the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro, as they consider themselves blood relatives and drink beer together. The Mingyuo ward was said both to steal the wives and marry the daughters of members of the Atsuen ward. I was unable to verify this, but it appeared to be an exceptional case, and it was stated that it was a new-fangled custom. If such a thing happened in the

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated 587 851 afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadan wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

According to Meek, the Katab proper (*Atyap*, in the vernacular), consist of the following units:

Clan : population	*Sub-clan : population (with lineages)*	*Villages : population*
Minyam : 3,602	Fakan : 915 (Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda)	Zonzon .. .. 227 Sako .. .. .. 287 Zarkwai .. .. 303 Bakin Kogi (i) .. 48
	Aswen : 2,687 (Amurun-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Kofo, Magemmi or Magamiya)	Kibori .. .. 281 Kurmin Masara .. 520 Zaman Awon .. .. 243 Zaman Dabo .. .. 785 Magamiya .. .. 480 Taligram (Taligan) .. 226 Gidan Wuka 152
Shokwa : 200	(Kuzat, Kamantan)	Gora : 200 1,200 1,400
Agbat : 6,103	Kwak : 1,431 (Angwai, Tainchen, Telen)	Kurmin Gando .. 231
	Kpaisa : 1,557 (?)	Jankassa .. .. 1,150 Magada Kura .. 407
	Nje : 3,115 (Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba)	Ungwar Gaya .. 908 Fada Tsofuwa .. 467 Gidan Karo .. .. 226 Kurmin Dawaki .. 409 Mabushi 1,105
Aku : 962	(Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon)	Ungwar Zaki .. 137 Bakin Kogi (ii) .. 94 Kigudu .. .. 132 Kwaku 599
		Total 10,667

Lineages and villages are given here basically in the order in which they appear in Meek's tables: what has determined this order is not known.

Administrative units (Village-areas) of the Katab tribal area recognized by Government in 1950 (with population figures of *c.* 1948): (*a*) Zonzon, 2,184; (*b*) Zaman Dabo, 2,335; (*c*) Taligan, 1,116; (*d*) Gora, 3,238; (*e*) Jan Kasa, 2,162; (*f*) Ungwar Gaya, 3,566; (*g*) Gidan Jatau, 2,368: total, 20,315.[17] Unfortunately it is not possible to correlate in detail this list with Meek's, since the component hamlets of the various Village-areas cannot in all cases be identified with any certainty. It would appear, however, that (*a*) here corresponds with Meek's (1), (*d*) with (3), (*e*) with (4), (*f*) with (5), and (*g*) with (6); (*b*) and (*c*) together make up Meek's (2). (See also *Local Organs of Authority*, below.)

Cole found (1948–9) that the Katab tribe appeared to consist of three exogamous clans, Nyam, Ku, and Baht, the first divided into four "kindreds," the second not divided, and the third into three "kindreds." The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. Thus, the Ikulu immigrants appear to have emerged as one or two "sub-clans" of Minyam, and Meek's Shokwa "clan" to have fused with Agbat as a "sub-clan." (See also under Ikulu, below.)

[17] No information is available to explain the difference between this figure (which, incidentally, does not include Zangon Katab Town) and the various totals given for the Katab tribe specifically—themselves showing striking differences.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

In 1909 the boundary between Zaria and the former Nasarawa Province ran from the vicinity of the Irigwe village of Kwon (Kwall), westward immediately to the north of Zangon Katab, thence in a south-westerly direction between Gora and Zangon Katab: thus, a large part of the Katab tribal area lay in Nasarawa Province. Subsequently boundary adjustments appear to have been made whereby Zaria acquired that part of Zangon Katab District which had till then been administered in Nasarawa Province (apparently including most if not all of Minyam clan territory and two-thirds of Agbat, the Hausa enclave of Zangon Katab, the Kachichere tribal area, virtually the whole of the Kaje tribal area, even Pari Village-area of the Chawai tribal area).

These details are important, because Temple ceased collecting materials for Northern Nigerian Tribes and Emirates only in 1916, and may well have failed to take into account this boundary change. Temple's description of Katab states that they have "one township over the border in Nassarawa Province," conceivably referring thus to the mass of Katab in Nasarawa described above. On the other hand, Brice-Smith (1922) noted that the Katab tribe "do not extend elsewhere except in one village, Tum, across the provincial boundary in the Jema'a Division of Nassarawa Province." There is in fact a hamlet of that name in Kagoro Independent District (a part of Jema'a Division until 1934): as has been indicated already, Kagoro is known to harbour a number of Katab immigrants. The search for Katab affiliates might well have stopped here, but for a cryptic note by A. B. Mathews which appears to suggest that Kaninkon refer to themselves as *Tum:* here is the admittedly tenuous link closing the circuit between Katab, Kagoro, Kachichere, and Kaninkon; the possibility of a closer connection between them than can yet be demonstrated is not to be overlooked.

Neither the meaning nor origin of these names can be stated, nor is it known by whom they are used at the present time.

Population: Location: Social Organization

The bulk of the Kaninkon occupy a fairly compact quadrangle, at least 30 square miles in area, near the south-westernmost extremity of the Kachichere Plateau, and at the base of that salient of Jema'a District which terminates in Kafanchan Town, on the Zaria border. They are thus separated from the main body of the Katab tribe by the Kafanchan tribe of Jema'a District, by Kaje, by Kagoro, and by the very considerable cosmopolitan centre, Kafanchan Town.

The most recent population figures available for the Kaninkon tribe are those compiled by Mathews (1934): Ambam (Anban), 251; Amere (Amare, Amre), 461; Bakin Kogi, 285; Gerti (Garte), 321; Ungwar Baki, 525; Ungwar Peri (Fari), 448; total, 2,291. A seventh village, Gwaska, identified by administration as Kaninkon, is located within this area; an eighth, Kwagiri, is located in the Yeskwa area of Kagoma-Yeskwa District. The Forestry Reconnaissance Map of Jema'a Division of 1948 shows Amere to be a dispersed settlement, with wards (Ungwar Sarkin Amere, Amere, and Old Amere) scattered the entire length and breadth of Kaninkon territory in Jema'a District.

The precise extent of Kaninkon territory is not known, so that the density of population cannot be established, but Mathews gave the density of Jema'a District (including the population of Kafanchan Town) as approximately 26 per square mile in 1934.

The only available account of Kaninkon is that compiled by Mathews. Virtually the whole of the Kachichere Plateau appears to have been "subject" to the Sarkin Kajuru (see Kachichere, below), at least until the rise of the Fulani. Mathews writes: "originally they had one chief for the whole tribe, and separate priests for each village. But during Fulani times the two sections, the Black Kaninkon and the White Kaninkon, fell out with one another because the latter, who are regarded as being of lower status than the Black . . . . refused any longer to be regarded as a reservoir for providing more than their fair share of the annual tribute of slaves to

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaninkon
Kachichere

Jema'a. So they seceded, made their own chief, and their own arrangements about tribute to Jema'a."

From this point, Mathews' account becomes somewhat difficult to interpret: "A senior branch of the Kaninkon . . . comprises the towns of Amere, Bakin Kogi, and Gerti. [This is presumably the "Black" section of the tribe, though Mathews fails to label it as such.] They say that they were conquered by the Fulani and thereafter paid them tribute, but that each town had its own *jekada* and brought its own tribute to Jema'a. At first, when the Fulani had not come to Jema'a, they had one chief for them all [that is, a paramount chief of Kaninkon, presumably] and another one for the "Black" [spokesmen from which are informing here?] and "White" Kaninkon [that is, one "chief" for each section: see also below] . . . and [still another for] Ambam. But after the split there were separate chiefs, and they would not be prepared to unite now. . ."

It would appear that the sectional chiefs of the second paragraph quoted are perhaps the "separate priests for each village" of the first paragraph, and that the people of Amare, Bakin Kogi, and Garte constituted one local unit or village ("Black"), while Ungwar Peri and Ungwar Baki constituted another ("White"); the unique position of Ambam remains, however, to be explained. The position of the "paramount chief" cannot be determined precisely on the basis of the material here presented: he might have been the intermediary between the body of village priests and Sarkin Kajuru; or a ritual specialist of some sort with a wider than usual following (cf. the *teowap* of Shokwa, etc., under Katab, above).

According to Mathews, Kaninkon intermarry with the people of Nindam village, immediately south of Kaninkon territory (see Kachichere, below). Smith reports that Kagoro tradition describes Kaninkon as friends and allies of Kagoro (like Kagoro's Katab, Kafanchan and Jaba neighbours): this, apparently, in spite of the fact that Kaninkon submitted to Kagoro's Hausa-Fulani enemies, and may well have joined in raids on neighbouring tribes such as the Kagoro who resisted the power of Jema'a.

No other information is available regarding the Kaninkon and their culture.

KACHICHERE (ATICHERAK) OF ZANGON KATAB DISTRICT; "DARORO" OF JEMA'A DISTRICT, JEMA'A EMIRATE-DIVISION, PLATEAU PROVINCE

LOCATION: POPULATION: NOMENCLATURE: AFFILIATIONS: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

South-east of the seven Village-areas of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, which constitute the (unofficial) Katab tribal area, against the northern border of Moroa Independent District, lie the Village-areas of Kachichere Arna and Pari—on the westernmost spur of the High Plateau, a peak of which rises to some 4,000 ft. above the village of Kachichere. Kachichere Arna (population 276, *c.* 1948) is inhabited largely by Aticherak—the Hausa corruption of which name is the more familiar "Kachichere." Pari is a Chawai (Atsam) community, but contains the important Aticherak hamlet of Lungu (population 520, in 1950). The total figure given in the N.A. Census of 1948–9 for Aticherak in Zangon Katab District (and Zaria Province) is 699; the slightly greater total of the two villages may be due to a small number of Hausa smiths in Kachichere Arna Village-area.[2]

[2] The designation Kachichere Arna, Hausa "Pagan Kachichere," implies the existence of another hamlet or village, Kachichere Hausawa: the Hausa smiths of Kachichere are famous, having settled there under the protection of the Sarkin Kajuru perhaps 200 years ago. These smiths seem to have been the source of swords among the Kagoro (and no doubt other tribes in the vicinity) which Meek and others have regarded as symbols of chieftaincy and of subordination to Kajuru: Smith, however, was told by Kagoro informants that the swords were given by itinerant Kajuru Hausa smiths out of Rahama, Kachichere, and other Hausa settlements, to those in Kagoro who were able to guarantee the safety of the smiths in their "unsettled" community, which suggests a system of commercially organized exploitation rare in Nigeria. Very little information is available regarding Kauru and the swords

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[38] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, *c.* 1805–10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village [39]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri or Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[40] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[38] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman. . . . He went to Zaria . . . and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[39] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Anga, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[40] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin
	Ungvya
	Unduru
	Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto
	Ansong
	Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyeknni
	Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu
Kamantan

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at all, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

Kamantan

General: Nomenclature: Population: Location: Social Organization

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343."

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to be that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal	2 related exogamous sections
	Ashin (Kaku)	2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban	
	Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan)	Believed related
	Balil	
	Lena	
(4)	Yangan	
	Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall" (Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "trafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

[a] The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Kafanchan

According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past. 101

The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934: 103 162

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [61]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [62]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [63]	971

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council. 622 623

Traditions: Social Structure[64]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[65] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[66] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf. 616

[61] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[62] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognized Akau, Chenji, Daudu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[63] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigar[illegible]ingari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[64] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[65] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[66] Tradition recorded at Kagoro: it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro.

discussion of "clans" and "wards" at Gure, Kahugu, and among Katab), in the beginning: to-day, there are Mingio and Atswam "wards" scattered among a number of villages, and the number of exogamous units among Ankwei has greatly increased, presumably through fission, except in the case of three only (Ankut, Anpi, and Kagwom, at Dussai and Mafok villages), which are said to be Kachichere in origin and must, in the light of the discussion of Kpashan, below, be considered anomalous.[87]

The remainder of Kagoro of Kagoro District are grouped together as Kpashan. According to Smith, "Kagoro country seems to have been a refuge area . . . and tradition states that throughout the 19th century various small groups . . . moved to safety among the Kagoro. The first such group was the (Ma-)Kata . . . The Kata group were called Kpashan by the Kagoro already settled there, and referred to these as *Ankwei*, the name by which the Ankwei described themselves. At first groups of immigrants arriving after the (Ma-)Kata were called *Munzaram*. Later . . . Munzaram and Kpashan were used interchangeably for all the 'strangers' settled in the tribal area who were placed under the ritual control of the Kata, the earliest arrivals." Other immigrant groups in the District have apparently been able to resist assimilation by either moiety, most notably Katab, numbering 1,099 in 1949–50, constituting one entire Village-area (Tum) and a sizeable part of another (Malagum) predominantly Kpashan, and also Ataka, numbering 701.[88] "Kpashan . . . occupy a position of ritual inferiority . . . Ankwei have admitted only the earliest arriving Kpashan, Makata, to . . . the important rituals (*ci*). Cloth was taboo to Ankwei ritual leaders but permitted to Kpashan. . . . Finally, the Kpashan moiety is exogamous in the sense that marriages are not permitted between different Kpashan clans. Among Ankwei this type of exogamy is limited to groups sharing common patrilineal descent. Kpashan may and do abduct wives of other Kpashan, but . . . not . . . wives of Ankwei." Similarly, it would appear, Ankwei do not "abduct" wives of Kpashan men.[89]

The really effective large social kinship unit is the *kwai*, essentially a large-scale localized unit, of the order of a clan, but in the case of the *kwai* however, it is clear that disparate units are involved, exactly as has already been noted at Gure and elsewhere, farther above, a situation to be expected in a community where the processes of fission and fusion are constantly at work: thus, though "normally" ritually independent, two *kwai*, located in different villages, may recognize a common priest; two *kwai* of a single village, though mutually recognizing their independence, may be stubbornly grouped together as a single *kwai* by Kagoro of other villages; and in at least one *kwai* (Katuwak of Kukum Village-area), there can be intermarriage between members of an adopted lineage of recent Ataka origin and members of other lineages of the same *kwai*, though outsiders apparently make no distinction among the various lineages. Smith, however, indicates that in general members of a *kwai* share in addition to "common residence and patrilineal descent combined,"[90] a common head, common name and totems, common (ancestral?) shrine where members participate in important rituals, common *obwai*

[87] It should be noted that Smith found several other foreign elements accommodated under the name of Ankwei, but some effort was made to conceal their origins: to such elements "fictional kinship may be extended . . . or bonds of uterine kinship may be utilized. . . ."

[88] According to Cole (1949), Tum was (in 1948) absorbed by the Fadan Kagoro Village-area. Smith treats Tum as a separate Village-area, however (as of 1950).

[89] Cf. footnote 19, p. 73, above, re Katab marriage rules. Smith stresses the fact that, among Kagoro, given the heterogeneous character of the community, wife abduction is a source of hostility, feuds, and conflicts, and is probably not practised among the moieties because of its danger to tribal cohesion.

[90] It would appear that kinship among members can sometimes be demonstrated genealogically. The factor of common residence—not necessarily in a single compound—but in a quarter of a village—leads Meek on occasion to translate *kwai* as "ward": this, according to Smith, is confusing, as the "wards" recognised by Administration rarely correspond to the *kwai*. Smith translates *kwai* usually as "clan" but sometimes—for reasons apparent from the discussion of *bin*, below—as "clan-segment".

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

592 form a separate social unit and which is laid by the householder's father before any building takes place. Above the central stone is a wooden structure supporting a platform on which grain is heaped in the dry season when brought in from the fields."

618 A single named kinship group among Kagoro—the *bin*—remains to be described. Four kinds of *bin* are classified by Smith: the *bin* formed among "dispersed segments of former clan"; the *bin* formed among agnatically related *kwai* of a single village; and two sorts of artificial *bin*, one, an exclusive grouping of *kwai* and the other, a *bin* of which one or more of the participating *kwai* (or lineages thereof) are linked with other *kwai* (or lineages) to constitute a second *bin* (as will be seen in the table below, certain lineages of *kwai* Kpaguwak, Mingio and Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro participate in a total of five *bin*, for example). The *bin* is, then, an association of *kwai*: membership in a *bin* entails exogamy, and prohibits "wife-stealing" within the *bin*: members share "common totem, where these occur" and, in at least the first of the four types described above, a "common clan name and traditions of common descent, sometimes genealogically demonstrable," is not unusual—though in the last of the two types described kinship is purely artificial. As with the *kwai*, exceptions to all rules seem to occur, but it would appear that the *bin* system, even when its deficiencies are taken into account (see diagram on p. 91), must be essential to Kagoro unity, providing as it does links between the various local units (Village-areas). The actual effects of the *bin* system can best be grasped in the diagram, in which ties between villages are shown graphically.

68 The table which follows, an adaptation from Smith's several tables, shows the
616 distribution of *kwai* by villages, and the *bin* linkages of *kwai* (those *kwai* followed by the same number in parentheses constitute a single *bin*), as well as their moiety affiliations.

● 162
103

Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Fadan Kagoro (Fada) : 1,895	Kpaguwak (1, 2) ..	214	Kadau (14)	412
	Mingio (2, 3, 4) ..	346	Kalahu (15)	374
	Mungwop (4, 5) ..	173	Lawat (16, 17) ..	376
		733		1,162
Agbam (Agwam, Agwan, ? Ogban) : 1,422	Mingio (3)	415	Kacang (18)	94
	Mungwop (5)	241	Kamuwang (?) ..	413
		656	Kutang (14?)	194
			Lawat (16)	85
				786
Chanje (–i) : 113	Mingio (3)	38	Kutrok (19)	33
	Mungwop (5)	21	Sukurak (20)	21
		59		54
Kpak (Kwak, ? Apak) : 1,299	Atawan (6)	74	Kabiyip (21, 22) ..	92
	Mingio (3)	179	Kagak (21, 22) ..	203
		253	Nientswot (21, 22) ..	256
			Kangai (23)	9
			Micen (23, 24) ..	222
			Kutrok (18, 19, 25) ..	264
				1,046

618
616
162
103

Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Kukum (Kukkum) : 1,612	Kangai (7)	315	Sukurak (20)	294
	Katuk (7)	332		
	Katuwak (7) ..	132		
	Kunduwak (7) ..	227		
	Kusali (7)	100		
	Zukpom (7, 8) ..	84		
	Kpaguwak (1) ..	128		
		1,318		
Kadarko : 708	Kabum (9)	77		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	173		
	Kanyio (9)	121		
	Kikwot (9)	117		
	Zafan (9)	179		
	Sibio (10)	16		
	Ti (10)	26		
Makabun (Makabbo) : 303	Kabon (9)	183		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	40		
	Kikwot (9)	16		
	Zafan (9)	59		
	Sibio (10?)	5		
Malagum : 609	Mingio (3)	23	Kawom (24)	206
			Kutrok (19)	380
				586
Saño (Safwio) : 793	Atswan (6)	21	Kalayip (26, 18) ..	87
	Kabiokut (8)	75	Kamang ? (26, 18, 25)	222
	Mungwop (5)	38	Kushwon (26 18, 17)	146
			Kuluk (22)	204
		134		659
Dussai (Duchin, Dusai) : 230	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		
Mafok (Mafo, Mafor) : 435	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		

It should be explained that the complex linkages between *bin* at Fadan Kagoro are the result of relations maintained by single lineages within the *kwai* concerned. Elsewhere, apparently, linkages between *bin* commonly involve entire *kwai*. 618

Population figures are derived from Smith's own census of July, 1950, except for the totals for Dussai and Mafok, which he attributes to the N.A. Census for 1949–50. Alternative names for Village-areas given in parentheses are derived variously from Ames, Census Village Directory of 1931, Cole, Meek, and Tremearne. 162

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY.

In 1950 the chief of the Kagoro Independent District was a man of Kamang *tusa* of Kalahu *kwai* at Fadan Kagoro, popularly chosen by Kagoro on the death in 1945 of his predecessor, who also came of the Kamang lineage: of the five (or more) chiefs recognized by Administration since the first British expedition to the District in 1905, all have come of Kamang lineage save one. 622

The facts that lie behind these facts are impossible to establish with any real certainty at this late date. Smith sums up the situation: "When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills . . .Kagoro had no single tribal chief. . . . He is

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Moroa
Ataka

imbhweh and the chief. In 1934, the chief was deposed in favour of another and *imbhweh* was suppressed, both by Administrative action, but apparently with the support of the people.

Missions

Smith indicates that during the troubled period of *imbhweh* mission converts suffered greatly from atrocities committed against them by both sides. But he judges that the Kagoro early responded favourably to the Protestant mission teaching and adopted many of the culture elements it introduced, such as schools, literacy in Hausa, innovations in building and in dress, and agricultural and medical amenities. The senior mission came in 1926. In recent years a second mission has entered the district and also a Southern Nigerian representative of an African Christian sect.

Islam does not appear to have made any progress among Kagoro.

MOROA (ASOLIO) AND ATAKA

LOCATION: POPULATION: NOMENCLATURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

Moroa Independent District lies in south-eastern Zaria Province, bounded by the easternmost extension of the Zangon Katab District of Zaria Emirate on the north, Kagoro Independent District on the west, the Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, on the south, and the Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province, on the east. It represents essentially an extension of the plains of Zangon Katab and Northern Kagoro, and the rugged heights of the central sector of Kagoro District. Its chief natural distinction is a thick belt of fan palms lying in the plains north of the Kafanchan-Jos railway, which virtually bisects the District. Tremearne described the area as being "open and very rich, most of the visible area being under cultivation at some time or another."

The N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned the following figures for the population of the District:

"*Tribe*"	
Moroa	5,726
Atakar	3,294
Katab	1,062
Hausa	286
Ibo	36
Fulani	22
Falloni [**]	17
Tiv	7
Yoruba	5
	10,455

With the exception of the Fulani, who are probably predominantly pastoralists, the small "stranger" and "native foreigner" population is concentrated near the railway, mainly in the vicinity of Manchok station, engaged in trading.

The area of the District, according to the Census of 1931, is 143 square miles; density (1948), 73 per square mile. Since, however, a sizeable portion of Moroa, upon Kagoro Rock and in the kurmi to the south, is not arable, actual density of population must be rather more than the figure indicates.

Reynolds in 1950 reported 311 Asolio, in two villages or hamlets, along the northern border of Moroa District, in the Pari Village-area of Zangon Katab

[**] "Falloni" or "Forloni": Hausa corruption of Fort-Lamy; applied in Nigeria to immigrants from the Chad region of French Equatorial Africa.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka

162 District, who claim to have been isolated from their close kin and neighbours in Moroa District by the boundary drawn by Administration some 30 years earlier.

101 According to Meek, the origin of the name Moroa, (Morwa, Maruwa) is unknown.[97] The people to whom this name is applied by Hausa and by Europeans call themselves Asolio (Osholio, Aholio).[98] According to Tremearne, Asolio claim to have migrated from Zaria (Meek specifies Yelwa, immediately to the north in Zangon Katab District; see Kachichere, p. 83, above) via Kafanchan to their present site.[99] Smith was told by Kagoro informants that Kagoro and Aten (of Ganawuri) were in contact in the area now designated Moroa District and in more or less continual conflict; when the ancestor of the Moroa tribe (Shaliyot) approached them to ask for land, he was given the area bordering on Ganawuri, the present Moroa District. It is of some interest that Asolio constitute the only sizeable "tribal" group in this entire area contained largely in a single District.

131 Ataka (Attakka; commonly rendered Atakar by Hausa scribes) occupy the eastern half of Kagoro Rock, from the environs of Kadarko, in Kagoro District, and also the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District and beyond to the foot of the Plateau escarpment, across the borders of Jema'a District and the Birom Tribal Area, as far as Nimbia (Gwandara or Karshe "tribe") and Assob (Birom). The origin and meaning of the name is nowhere stated, but it conforms so closely 101 to Katab forms that it seems likely to be indigenous: according to Ames, Ataka were traditionally co-residents with Aten of an area at the centre of which the present-day village of Takwot is located, which suggests one possible origin and meaning.[100]

161 The exact number of Ataka residing outside Moroa District is uncertain. The Census of 1931 gives 2,873 as the total number of Ataka in all areas (in 1921 Ataka were classified with Kagoro and Moroa); in 1934 A. B. Mathews counted some 384 in Jema'a District alone; the N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned 669 in Kagoro District; no count is available for Ataka of the Birom Tribal Area. A round figure of 5,000 is suggested for Ataka in all areas at the present time.

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority: Miscellaneous Cultural Details

631 The history of the administration of Moroa District has been uneventful, probably because Moroa early developed a *modus vivendi* with the powers of the region—Kajuru and/or Kauru, and the Hausa and Fulani kings of Zaria—so that a central authority grew up around the Chief of Manchok ("Agwam Asholio" in Provincial Records).

It was stated in 1934, at the time of the transfer of Moroa District from Plateau to Zaria Province, that "the District contains 24 villages" presumably including Asolio, Ataka, and one Katab (Kaura), "the heads of which are responsible direct to the Agwam Asholio"—this state representing a degree of fragmentation unequalled in this part of Zaria, at least, and perhaps going far to explain the relative stability of the District.

361 There is no record in Zaria of subsequent reorganization, grouping these villages into a limited number of "Village-areas." A total of only 19 villages for the District was found in the Village Directory of the Northern Provinces (Census of 1931), however. Only 14 of these can be identified as Asolio:

[97] As Meek traces Asolio to the Chawai (Atsam) tribal area of Zangon Katab District, it may be recalled that Reynolds found among Atsam evidence of a double unilineal system, the largest matrilineal unit bearing the name "Marowan".

[98] Cf. Shaliyot, given by Smith's Kagoro informants as Moroa "tribal ancestor."

[99] Cf. Traditions of Kurama, the people of Kauru District, and the Katab. Meek gives "Asalio" as the name of a lineage of the "aboriginal" Aku clan of Katab (see table, p. 72, above, *Religious Beliefs*, below).

[100] Cf. Takwot and Ataka (Atakar).

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243),[102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) [105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Zangon Katab District, but it seems probable that precisely those areas inhabited by Kaje (see map) are the most densely populated in both Districts, so that the actual difference, from the point of view of Kaje, may be negligible.

The Kaje tribal area is drained by the Kogum-Mada system, which flows southward to the Benue, and by the headwaters of the Gurara, which empties westwards into the Niger. The country is generally undulating and parklike, not thickly wooded apart from the numerous gullies (*kurmi*; cf. Kagoro and Jaba). East of the railway line between Kankada and Suryam on the Kagoro boundary, there is a considerable extent of marshy ground. Three ranges of hills cross the area, one running north and south, near Zonkwa, and two, extending approximately north-east and south-east, from Afana to Farman, and from Kaban to Kamurun Ikulu, respectively.

Reynolds suggests that Kaje may be the Hausa corruption of the indigenous name, Baju, meaning "people of one language." Kaje is said also to be a tribal ancestor's name.

Social Organization

Kaje villages and hamlets of Zangon Katab District are grouped into 11 Village-areas, among which are distributed six "tribal sections" or clans, according to Reynolds.[169]

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Baiduang	Zonkwa	*Zonkwa*	3,757
	Kurmin Bi		
	Madauci		
	Zonkwa (Hausa)		
	Zuturung Fama	*Zuturung*	*1,538 : 5,295*
	Kangurara		
	Zuturung Mugu		
Baimbin	Suryan	*Suryan*	1,993
	Aduan		
	Arebot		
	Kankada		
	Wadon		
Bainturung	Gidan Jatau	*Gidan Jatau*	2,813
	Abet		
	Asankwai		
	Farman		
	Ipam		
	Kanyem		
	Unguwar Jatau		
Baintsok	Fadan Kaje	*Fadan Kaje*	1,506
	Rumfa		
	Tsofon Gida		
	Fadiya Mugu	*Fadiya*	*2,409 : 3,915*
	Fadiya Bosan		
	Fadiya Bakut		
	Fadiya Yazanu		
	Kahon Aruwan		
	Kahon Dok		
	Zagon Finfa		
	Zagon Gajere		

[169] Cf. Meek, *Tribal Studies*, II, pp. 101–2.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Banewhan	Afana Katsik	*Afana*	1,185
	Gidan Tagwai Amfan Bakin Kogi G. Tagwai Hausa Makera Hausa	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Kamurun Kaje Kurdan Sokwap Zauru	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Marsa Chanchu Kunye Rikawan	*Marsa*	2,227 : 7,095
Batadon	Madakiya Atat Ayagan Bodari Bonkwa Hausawan Matsirgas Hurjam Kauraje	*Madakiya*	3,396

Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

775 According to Reynolds, it is believed that the dead have an underground abode, Yatbin, where they live much as they did on earth enjoying the same status they held in life. Reynolds does not comment on Temple's statement that Kaje believe in reincarnation, nor does he connect totemic beliefs with the belief in life after death.

Missions

797 Regarding mission activity in Kaje, Reynolds reports that the total membership of Christian congregations in the tribal area may number about 2,000, or rather less than a twelfth of the population: ministers of no less than six sects are present in the area. The influence of the missions is felt well beyond the small circle of converts, however, through the schools which they operate in the area.

Miscellaneous

105 Kaje economy and land-tenure appear to conform most closely to their Jaba neighbours (described farther below). Kaje are described as particularly commercial-minded, and aggressive in their business dealings, which appears rather to distinguish them from other members of the Katab Group of tribes.

In material culture, including house-building and dress, Kaje are virtually indistinguishable from their neighbours of the Katab Group all around. As regards music, however, both instrumental and vocal, and the dance, they early made an impression on European observers, and appear still to distinguish themselves in these arts.

JABA (HAM) OF KWOI AND KACHIA

LOCATION: POPULATION: NOMENCLATURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

131 South-west of the Kaje tribal area of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, lies the Jaba Independent District of Zaria Province, where the boundaries of Zaria, Plateau (Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate-Division), and Benue (Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Nasarawa Division) Provinces meet. West of Jaba District lies Kagarko District, along the Benue and Niger Provinces border of Zaria; north of Jaba and Kagarko, and west of Zangon Katab is Kachia (Kachiya) District, like Kagarko and Zangon Katab, a District of Zaria Emirate. The whole area is one of considerable "tribal" intermixture. The bulk of the Jaba (Hausa? name: Ham or Hum, in the vernacular) are located in Jaba District, with headquarters at Kwoi (whence the name popularly but unofficially applied to the District).

162 Population (N.A. Census 1948–9) 16,364; area (Census of 1933) 207 square miles; density 79 per square mile. "Tribal" figures for the District are as follows: Jaba, 14,245; Lungu (Adong), 1,513; Kagoma, 484; Hausa, 122. Some early writers equate Lungu with Yeskwa of Benue and Plateau Provinces, but one 101 investigator calls them "practically a clan of the Koro" of Kagarko, though stressing the many ties linking the two peoples. Kagoma are Katab affiliates and are treated farther below.

162 A second major concentration of Jaba is found in that portion of Kachia District immediately adjacent to Jaba District, south-east of Kachia Town: population (of entire District) 25,494; area 1,394 square miles; density 19 per square mile. Tribal figures: Jaba, 10,683; Kadara, 7,411; Kuturmi, 2,944; Hausa, 2,985; Kaje, 1,204; others, 271. Traditionally, dating back to Kajuru times, Kachia is a Kadara District, Kuturmi being affiliated with Kadara.

Other Jaba are found in Kagarko District (410 of a total of 26,104), traditionally a Koro-Gbari area, but with an "old" Hausa population, and a sizeable concentration of Fulani; here Jaba appear to be assimilating to Koro pagans. Jaba are also found in Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Benue Province (560 of 12,399); in Keffi District (62 of 21,382); in Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate Division, Plateau Province (a possible 382 of 6,915), in 1938–9.

The total for Jaba of Zaria Province in 1948–9 is 25,356; the total for the three Provinces concerned is therefore *c.* 26,500.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba
Kagoma

As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at "the Magajin dodo's house" (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, "a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the "Madaki's ward" of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the "juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be "initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe" inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti "say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

KAGOMA.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. D. Cater. Mr. Y. Kirkpatrick.
Mr. H. F. Mathews.

101 The Kagoma occupy an area of 166 square miles in the Jemaa
161 Emirate, Nassarawa Province, where they have a population
162 of some 4,500, men being slightly in preponderance over women.

* Compare Kagoro.

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

600 Political Memorandum 5, paragraphs 31(c) and 37.

14. In pre-British times the Emirate was run from its headquarters at Zaria and the surrounding area was divided up into fiefs, each fief having its specific boundaries and its particular obligations to the central authority. When the British arrived these fiefs were abolished. They were replaced by districts each with their paid District Head. As may be imagined these original fiefs paid little or no attention to the status of the indigenous inhabitants *qua* tribe. Neither, accordingly, did the original districts. In 1934, however, these districts were readjusted after detailed investigation and made to accord, as far as this was possible, with the variations in tribal structure. Where a district boundary cut across sections of various tribes the boundary was altered so that as many of one tribe would be incorporated in the same district as could conveniently be managed. Owing, however, to the many vicissitudes of these tribes in past years complete territorial adjustment was not possible. The extent to which the adjustment was accomplished is indicated in Appendix " B ". Any reference to ' tribal lands ' in this report must therefore be accepted with great caution and with the fact borne in mind that their boundaries, though established with great care and after detailed investigation, are nevertheless the direct result of administrative action affected many years after whatever ' boundaries ' may have originally existed had been completely compromised.

15. The same considerations apply to the Hausa enclaves, usually the District Headquarters, in the centres of these tribal lands. Their boundaries, as village units, were fixed, after investigation, by the administration and are a creation of that administration.

INDEPENDENT PAGAN AREAS

16. There are four Independent Districts—Moroa, Kagoro, Kwoi and Birnin Gwari. The Kagoro District was selected as a ' specimen ' district for detailed investigation. It is not to be taken for granted that what is written about Kagoro necessarily applies *in toto* to the other three districts. There would, no doubt, be discrepancies and variations. I have no reason to believe, however, that such discrepancies and variations would be anything more than points of detail. The broad pattern is similar in all four districts and the essentialities of the pattern do not change.

KAGORO DISTRICT

Population.

17. The Kagoro district contains some 12,000 inhabitants of whom 2,600 are adult males. About a third of the district consists of massive rocky hills and probably less than two-thirds is actually cultivable.

162
[12]
[311]

[p. 3]

cultivable. The population statistics according to the latest (1947) tax count are:—

Kagoro	...	8,999
Katabawa	...	1,713
Attakar	...	689
Hausa	...	279
Ibo	...	107
Others	...	79
Total		11,866

The Katabawa come from the neighbouring Zangon Katab district of the Zaria Emirate, the Attakar from the neighbouring Moroa district, the Hausa are mainly traders and their families and the Ibos are immigrant Railway employees.

History.

18. Originally the Kagoro lived in their strongholds amongst the high and almost inaccessible hills of the district. They had small patches of farms in these hills but their main farmlands were on the fertile plains at the foot of the hills. These farms were the subject of constant raids by the Fulani and in pre-British times were no more than a precarious utilisation of the no-man's land between the unconquered hills in which the Kagoro resided and the conquered Katab lands farther north. It was only when the British came that permanent settlement of these plains became possible.

Social structure.

19. An attempt was made to correlate the social structure of the tribe with the present day territorial sub-divisions of the district. The tribe would appear to consist of two distinct clans, the Ankwei and the Kpashan. These two clans are sub-divided into various kindreds. Except for the Kukum Kpashan with whom, for some unfathomable reason, other Kphashan may marry the Kpashan clan is exogamous and may only marry members of the Ankwei clan. The Ankwei clan is not exogamous though the kindreds into which it is divided are. The district is divided into eleven territorial (village) units. There were twelve until last year when the territorial unit of Tum, whose inhabitants are Katab, was absorbed into the senior territorial unit of Fada and thus lost its separate identity. Appendix " C " shews the occurrence, within these territorial units, of each of the kindreds. But though it was admitted that certain territorial units might contain a preponderance of one or more particular kindreds it was impossible to say, owing to migration and intermingling, that any *particular kindred or kindreds* had any prescriptive rights to the land within that unit.

Appendix C.

[p. 4]

175 311 241 612 423 20. An explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the historical background. In pre-British times when the Kagoro lived in the hills and came down to farm the plains it was the customary practice for a kindred or even a family group to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact block. The idea was that all the family eggs should not be in the same basket. If one particular area happened to be raided by the Fulani then, though the kindred or family might lose the produce of one particular farm, they would have other farms in other areas to fall back on; whereas had they been farming in only one place and in one compact block they would have lost everything they had. Consequently when the British rule brought peace and security the kindreds did not come down from the hills to settle in single compact blocks but came down to their split up and dispersed farms over the whole of the area. Whether or not the concept of a kindred holding of the land may have existed in the past it is certain that it does not exist now. It would have been undermined from the very start.

Breakdown to individual tenure.

423 311 596 888 21. The breakdown has gone much farther than the kindred. Whereas up to about twenty years ago it could truthfully have been said that it was the exception to the rule to find a man and his immediate family living and farming on his own, it is now the exception to the rule to find an extended family or family group living and farming together. In two cases that were investigated in the field it was found that the " family " lands had been divided up while the father was still alive. In the one case the father was too old to farm and in the second had suffered an injury some ten years ago which had prevented him from carrying on strenuous farming. In both cases the father was relatively hale and hearty and quite alert of mind. Nevertheless they were both prepared, since they could take no active part in the farming of the land themselves, to wash their hands of the matter and give their adult children their portion of the family lands. The only say they retained in the matter was in respect of the minor's portion and the division of the fallow lands. Fallow would not be divided up until it was actually required when as much as was required would be allotted to the son and this would then come under his control. Discussion with responsible opinion confirmed that this was a general practice and was quite common and widespread.

651 596 162 476 22. An interesting check on the above is available from the tax lists. These lists show, together with the name of each 'householder', the name of each adult tax payer living in the compound. It was confirmed by the District Head and Elders that where in the list a number of adult males were listed

together in one household then it was probable that they were farming their lands together though this was not an infallible sequitur. Where, however, a man was listed as a separate householder it could be categorically stated that in that case the family lands had been divided and the householder was living and farming on his own with no other relations than his children. The tax lists for 1947 shew that in no case were more than six adult males living and farming together. One or two cases were found of six adult males farming together; a small number of cases of four or five; but the vast majority of compounds consisted of no more than one, two or three adult males. The average number of adult males per compound is 1.6 and the average number of persons eight.

23. Unfortunately the tax lists for the pre-war years have all been destroyed and an interesting comparison has been lost. A few of the tax sheets for 1939 were found and the same average number of 1.6 males per compound was found shewing that the breakdown has existed for a number of years. It is universal throughout the district. Discussion with the Elders confirmed this situation.

24. The extent of the breakdown appears to be greater here than in the adjoining Katab district of the Emirate. The reasons for it lie in the circumstances set out in paragraph 20 above, *i.e.*, the kindred holding concept was undermined from the very start owing to the fragmentation of the kindred lands. Another contributory factor is that the advent of peace and security has removed the sanctions which formerly made group or communal living if not absolutely necessary then advisable in the extreme. With the perpetual threat of a Fulani raid it would have needed a major family convulsion to cause a man to leave the security and mutual protection afforded by communal living. Nowadays the merest family tiff will result in the individual demanding his portion of the family lands and going off to farm on his own.

25. It cannot be said, at the moment, that the breakdown has occasioned any grave *local* social problem. The lands that were so precariously available to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation were more than ample for their greatest needs had they been allowed to farm with security. These lands have been divided and sub-divided; but there still remains to the present day users a sufficiency for their needs and something to spare. It is true that the various fields are widely scattered. But, points out the Elder, this fragmentation is something that the Kagoro has always been accustomed to and presents no novel feature

000 73. Discussion of land tenure within this Hausa enclave is reserved for the section of the report dealing with Mohammedan Hausa tenure. We are here concerned with any deviations and divergences in this district's pagan tenure from that described in previous paragraphs.

Katab tenure breakdown to individual tenure.

74. Mr Barnicott, District Officer, reported in 1933:—

596 423 241 "Farming . . . . . particularly amongst the Katabawa is carried out on a semi-patriarchal basis. Nearly all the farms of each household belong to the head of the household and are handed down from generation to generation. The householder may not—and often does not—work on the farm himself but, as the owner, makes himself responsible for all the tax of the household; the junior members of the family and the women do the work and since the product of their labour is not strictly their own are not encouraged to accept responsibility for payment of tax".

[311] "The comparatively large area of seven acres is farmed by the average Katab family".

"The farm is run as a family concern and its produce cannot be apportioned . . . . . to each of the individual tax payers varying from one to as many as five or six who work on it".

75. Mr Elliott, District Officer, writes in 1943:—

"Each householder has a home farm in the immediate neighbourhood of his house. The home farm amounts to an area of about one to four acres—roughly an acre per adult male in the household. Then, anything up to four miles away in the open country round the village the householder has his main farm".

[592] "The size of the household is surprisingly small, perhaps indicating a recent tendency for families to split up and farm separately. The average household . . . . . consisted of an old man . . . . and a son who does all the farming who may perhaps be helped by a younger brother who is too young to pay tax. Out of the 142 farms surveyed the total number of the tax paying (*i.e.*, adult) farmers working them was no more than 205".

361 592 162 76. The following figures compiled from the 1947 tax lists (*see* paragraph 22 above) are of interest:—

Katab (*a*) Average number of adult males per household 2.1

(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound 11

~~21~~

[p. 21]

Kaje	(*a*) Average number of adult males per household	3.0
	(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound	10
Chawai	(*a*) Average number of adult males per household	3.0
	(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound	13

77. The writer's own experience of the breakdown to individual tenure is that its extent is about half way between that found with the Kagoro and that found amongst the Jaba of the Kachia district. Farms run on the family basis are to be found side by side with farms run individually. Sub-division can take place before a father's death and a married son can demand and is given his individual share as with the Kagoro and Jabawa. Sub-division.

78. Sale, pledging, leasing or renting are not known. They would not be regarded as customary if they occurred. No actual case of its happening was discovered. The complete right of user and passing on of the right of user are acknowledged; but no transaction which would deprive relatives and inheritors of this right are acknowledged. Alienation.

79. Loan is widely practised. It is to all intents and purposes the same transaction as that described for the Kagoro with the substitution of the brewing and sharing of a pot of beer (cf. Jaba) for the gift of a chicken. The same rule as to the building of a house applies. It is of note, however, that whereas in the past loans would never be for a specific duration nowadays a loan is made for a specific period either for one, two or three years after which the borrower would be offered *another* field, if this were available, but in any case would have to leave the original field he had borrowed. There is no intention that loan shall compromise the original holder's title. Loan.

80. In one actual case investigated a man was farming a field close to one of his own and adjoining his house. Both this field and the land on which the house stood were borrowed land. He had inherited them from his father who had been loaned the land thirty years ago. The field was close enough to the house to be considered part of the home farm. For this reason the descendants of the original holder could not claim back the land. This fact and the fact that the land was loaned was admitted by both parties. So was the sequitur to the facts. The descendants of the original holder of the land knew, however, that the moment

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38

APPENDIX A

POPULATION STATISTICS 1947-48, ZARIA PROVINCE

●162

No.	District	Adult Male	Adult Female	Male Children	Female Children	TOTAL
1.	Cikum	4,629	4,744	2,913	2,725	15,011
2.	Giwa	8,047	10,444	5,626	4,379	28,496
3.	Igabi	6,773	8,719	5,151	4,596	25,239
4.	Ikara	10,538	14,620	7,350	6,320	38,828
5.	Kachia	6,353	7,435	5,526	5,408	24,722
6.	Kagarko	7,423	7,567	5,148	4,521	24,659
7.	Kajuru	4,341	4,351	3,397	3,613	15,702
8.	Katab	17,479	19,087	13,245	13,048	62,859
9.	Kauru	5,471	6,307	2,599	2,326	16,703
10.	Kubau	9,270	13,161	7,132	6,210	35,773
11.	Lere	13,372	15,321	8,320	7,787	44,800
12.	Makarfi	13,009	17,129	8,868	6,638	45,644
13.	Soba	7,682	10,690	6,138	5,113	29,623
14.	Zaria and Kewaye ...	10,328	13,145	5,813	4,466	33,752
15.	Sabon Garin Zaria ...	7,804	7,854	3,756	3,206	22,620
16.	Kaduna and Kewaye	6,812	7,943	3,794	2,325	20,874
17.	Zangon Aya ...	3,423	4,894	2,745	2,354	13,436
		142,774	173,411	97,521	85,035	498,741
18.	Jaba	3,878	5,117	3,551	3,623	16,169
19.	Kagoro	2,739	3,442	2,804	2,881	11,866
20.	Morca	2,647	2,943	2,239	2,503	10,332
		9,264	11,502	8,594	9,007	38,367
21.	Birnin Gwari ...	4,763	5,753	3,648	3,023	17,187
		156,801	190,666	109,763	97,065	554,295

~~58~~

[p. 30]

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Hausa MS12

APPENDIX B

TRIBAL STATISTICS (by Districts)

HK 162

CIKUM.

Hausawa	2,644
Gwari	11,734
Kamuku	433
Kadara	70
Nufawa	5
Yarubawa	99
Ibo	23
Igo	3
TOTAL	15,011

GIWA.

Filani	5,863
Hausawa	19,033
Barebari	1,208
Nufawa	44
Gobirawa	131
Maguzawa	1,193
Gwari	640
Yarubawa	52
Dakarkari	16
Ibo	113
Busaye	194
Jaba	9
TOTAL	28,496

IGABI.

Hausawa	18,503
Filani	3,773
Barebari	2,019
Gwari	842
Zanfarawa	3
Ibo	88
Kadara	11
TOTAL	25,239

IKARA.

Hausawa	22,733
Filani	5,175
Barebari	997
Busaye	10
Maguzawa	9,868
Yarubawa	23
Ibo	22
TOTAL	38,828

KAJURU.

Hausawa	1,429
Gwari	230
Kadara	13,877
Ibo	62
Porlomi	33
Yarubawa	41
Nufawa	30
TOTAL	15,702

KATAB.

Katab	16,471
Kaje	21,633
Ikulu	5,533
Cawai	8,653
Kamantan	3,409
Kacaccare	662
Rukuba	166
Ribam	745
Hausawa	5,587
TOTAL	62,859

KAURU.

Hausawa	6,572
Kaibi	585
Kono	1,630
Kitimi	617
Kiballo	343
Kinuku	211
Kurama	302
Surubu	1,653
Binawa	214
Rishiwa	729
Ruruma	2,080
Dungi	370
Rumayya	1,282
Kadara	115
TOTAL	16,703

~~60~~

[p. 32]

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Hausa MS12

Kachya.

Kadara	7,173
Kuturmi	2,834
Hausawa	2,994
Filani	132
Jaba	10,539
Kaje	798
Gwari	136
Ibo	65
Porlomi	21
Munci	6
Yarubawa	10
Katab	4
Kwaro	3
Kagoro	7
Total	24,722

Kagarko.

Filani	2,587
Hausawa	2,097
Barebari	55
Kwaro	11,740
Gwari	8,180
Total	24,659

Soba.

Hausawa	24,266
Filani	5,179
Barebari	132
Nufawa	1
Maguzawa	20
Igo	15
Yarubawa	10
Total	29,623

Zaria and Kewaye.

Hausawa	22,309
Filani	9,150
Nufawa	1,200
Yarubawa	551
Ibo	542
Total	33,752

Kubau.

Hausawa	32,909
Filani	1,166
Maguzawa	1,261
Barebari	40
Yarubawa	139
Nufawa	85
Kurama	173
Total	35,773

Lere.

Hausawa	16,680
Filani	4,761
Kurama	10,502
Gure	3,493
Kahugu	1,449
Amawa	3,592
Piti	1,565
Shani	1,049
Rumayya	308
Janji	384
Jerawa	150
Surubu	160
Yarubawa	188
Ibo	245
Barebari	374
Total	44,800

Makarfi.

Hausawa	29,132
Filani	9,767
Barebari	2,602
Nufawa	586
Maguzawa	3,464
Yarubawa	37
Ibo	56
Total	45,644

Moroa.

Moroa	5,678
Atakar	3,270
Katab	1,055
Hausawa	279
Ibo	26
Yarubawa	5
Porlomi	19
Total	10,332

H K 162

~~61~~

[p. 33]

4: Cole G-5 (1948) 1949 FF38 Katab FF38
Hausa MS12

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162

Sabon Gari, Zaria.

Hausawa	14,003
Filani	1,011
Nufawa	529
Yarubawa	2,056
Ibo	2,441
Popo	23
Sereleone	46
Accra	127
Benin City	160
Asaba	935
Barebari	375
Werri	450
Kukuruku	195
Biyu	75
Calabar	180
Togo Land	14
Total	22,620

Kaduna and Kewaye.

Hausawa	14,531
Filani	431
Barebari	172
Gold Coast	447
Cakiri	130
Ibo	2,666
Benin City	219
Fanti	117
Yarubawa	1,315
Nufawa	305
Gara	135
Sereleone	52
Dakarkari	67
Shaushau	43
Soba	112
Gwari	132
Total	20,874

Kagoro.

Kagoro	8,999
Katab	1,713
Atakar	689
Kaje	15
Hausawa	279
Jaba	8
Yarubawa	21
Ibo	107
Barebari	6
Tiv	7
Porlomi	1
Filani	8
Kabane	1
Ganawuri	7
Akoto	5
Total	11,866

Birnin Gwari.

Hausawa	7,920
Kamuku	5,778
Gwari	2,719
Maguzawa	770
Total	17,187

Zangon Aya.

Hausawa	8,980
Filani	4,428
Ibo	28
Total	13,436

Jaba.

Jaba	13,942
Lungu	1,479
Kagara	451
Hausawa	82
Labar	44
Yarubawa	150
Bagarmi	21
Total	16,169

[p.34]